Breaking News or Breaking the Newspaper?
Print Journalists, Online Journalists and Their Medium-Based Loyalties

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This study explores the concept of "medium-based loyalties" by looking at the attitudes of journalists toward the predicted demise of the newspaper and the new media presented to be displacing it. In a survey of 110 newspaper and website reporters in the Philippines, this study found a manifestation of medium-based loyalties, consistent with previous studies that found differences between perceptions of journalists tied to different media: Newspaper reporters were more optimistic about the future of their own medium while website reporters rated their own medium more positively. Though journalists get socialized into the practice of journalism, it is apparent that within the profession are several sub-groups. A sub-group could be based on medium. In providing a way to understand the process behind attitudes of journalists, the concept of medium-based loyalties can help in offering ways to address the implications of these attitudes.

Keywords: convergence, socialization, journalism, journalists, gatekeeping

Introduction

The history of journalism can be seen through the lens of technological advancement. Inventions and innovations reshape the routines of journalists, the messages they create and distribute, as well as the habits of their audiences. The introduction of the Internet is one prime example as it reshapes the media marketplace, worrying, yet again, the traditional newspaper. Loyalty to a particular news medium is already a thing of the past. Readers and viewers are no longer loyal to a medium (Hammond, Peterson, & Thomsen, 2000), an attitude that many traditional journalists are, apparently, not yet willing to share.

In many countries, media convergence has become the norm (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). For some, online news has won the tug-of-war for eyeballs. But in some countries, such as the Philippines, a country known for its free and vibrant press, the war is far from over. Though news organizations have embraced the online medium, news websites in the Philippines remain operated separately from traditional newsrooms. There is some content-

sharing at most, which is still far from the stage of full media convergence as it has been defined (Dailey, Demo, & Spillman, 2005; García Avilés, Meier, Kaltenbrunner, Carvajal, & Kraus, 2009; Singer, 2008). Though most newspapers and television networks in the Philippines operate their respective news websites, these online platforms employ their own set of reporters and editors.

The road to converged newsrooms starts with internal battles among traditional journalists who see their routines and loyalties being challenged. But the agonizing wait—marked by some resistance—to check if pundits are correct in predicting the displacement of the newspaper has rarely been observed through the perceptions of journalists themselves. The perceptions and attitudes of journalists about their own medium and its challengers, shaped by their socialization into their respective platforms, also affect their decisions and behavior, for projections in the journalistic field form the bases of particular actions (Born, 2003).

The road to converged newsrooms, however, is not without the bumps of "medium-based loyalty." If newsrooms are to be integrated, the attitudes of the journalists working in each medium should also find a common ground. In this paper, I look at the attitudes of print journalists in the Philippines toward issues that come with the phenomenon of media convergence and compare them with those embraced by their online counterparts. In putting forward the concept of medium-based loyalty, this study hopes not only to contribute to a meaningful discussion of the challenges and opportunities confronting media convergence but also to highlight an otherwise neglected reason behind the tensions this convergence brings about. In this study I hope to demonstrate how medium-based loyalty plays a significant role in bringing about—and ultimately dissipating—the resistance to convergence.

Literature Review

Numerous studies have looked into journalists—what affects their outputs and what these outputs affect—but very few attempted to define who a journalist is (Allen, 1995; Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007). Groundbreaking studies have successfully described the characteristics of journalists in terms of demographics and attitudes even across countries (Hanitzsch, 2009, 2011; Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986, 1996). But describing the characteristics of journalists does not answer why they were considered journalists in the first place.

The different ways the word "journalist" has been defined in previous literature include different combinations of dimensions that can be conceptually lumped into four categories: based on routines, including activities and periodicity (Havemann, 1966; Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim, &

Wrigley, 2001; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009); based on output, including scope and structure (Havemann, 1966; Johnstone, Slawski, & Bowman, 1976; Meltzer, 2009; Shaber, 1980); based on professional characteristics, including employment, social roles and ethics (Janowitz, 1975; Johnston, 1979; Schudson, 2003); and, finally, based on medium (Allen, 1995; Bovee, 1999).

Ugland and Henderson (2007) argued that "journalism has never been understood as residing in a particular medium" (p. 255). A review of pre-Internet literature, however, yields many definitions that referred to a particular set of media in defining a journalist. Most professional journalists identify "with the medium to which they devote most of their time and from which they derive the greater part of their income" (Bovee, 1999, p. 28). A recent book by Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey, & Richardson (2005) defined journalism as "finding things out, then telling people about them via newspapers, radio, television, or the Internet" (p. 124). In a survey of American journalists, Cassidy (2005, 2006) sampled journalists based on whether they worked for either a newspaper's print or online edition. Deuze (2008) also argued that technology had always played a major role in news production and that they are used by practitioners "to establish their own professional identity" (p. 204). Arguing for the importance of identifying organizational influences on journalists by looking at journalists' behavior and attitudes, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) also said that "many of these differences can be traced to the nature of the organization they work for" (p. 126), which also differ based on medium.

Different Media, Different Journalists

The differences between journalists from different media have early on been documented particularly in two groundbreaking national surveys of American journalists (Johnstone, et al., 1976, Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986). For instance, Weaver et al., (1986, 1996, 2007) found differences between broadcast and print journalists not only in terms of demographics, but also in terms of the professional roles they embrace. These differences are also found between print and online journalists. In a survey of 456 print and 199 online journalists, Cassidy (2005) found that while there were no differences between the two groups in how they rated the adversarial role, print journalists rated the interpretive role as more important than did their online counterparts. Online journalists, on the other hand, rated getting information quickly to the public as more important than did those from the print medium (Cassidy, 2005). These results are consistent with those of a survey of 66 online journalists that found them rating the "marketing function," that is, reaching the largest possible audience and understanding

the audience, more important than did print journalists (Brill, 2001). The study also found that the interpretive and adversarial functions appealed lesser to online journalists than to those from print (Brill, 2001). Online journalists surveyed in the US and Germany also stressed the importance of their role to "get information to the public quickly" (Quandt, Löffelholz, Weaver, Hanitzsch, & Altmeppen, 2006, p. 180), while most of them disagreed with the importance of setting the political agenda.

When asked to rate the credibility of Internet news, Cassidy (2007b) found what could have been a manifestation of medium-based loyalty: online newspaper journalists rated Internet news as more credible than did print newspaper journalists. "This can be interpreted as an indication that print newspaper journalists are still a bit skeptical of online journalism and its norms and practices" (p. 157). The study found that Internet reliance influenced this attitude (Cassidy, 2007b). Indeed, a later study found differences between online and print journalists in terms of online activities. Wheeler, Christiansen, Cameron, Hollingshead, & Rawlins (2009) found that online reporters were more likely to contribute to their organization's website than other journalists. They were also the most likely among groups of journalists to maintain a blog, create multimedia presentations and spend time on other "new media" activities (Wheeler et al., 2009).

But why are journalists from different media different?

Social Identity Theory

A possible explanation comes from the "social identity theory" (SIT), a popular theory in social psychology (Brown, 2000; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Formulated within the context of minority rights and racism (Brown, 2000), SIT explains intergroup behavior and accounts for relationships between groups (Hogg et al., 1995; Tajfel, 1974). SIT defines a group as a "a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and their membership in it," (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 15). Thus, SIT can help account for the relationships between journalists from different groups which are defined, in this study, to be based on medium.

The social group to which one belongs shapes one's social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals strive to maintain a positive social identity through the process of differentiation (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). By positively differentiating their own group from outsiders, individuals maintain a perception of superiority that reinforces their self-esteem (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). An example in journalism is how reporters view

their working conditions as better than those from other media (Cassidy, 2007b; Filak, 2004).

Tajfel and Turner (1986) argued that acts of differentiation are "essentially competitive" (p. 17). This becomes more salient when individuals find themselves confronted by conflict that leads people to stop thinking as individuals and begin to think "in terms of their group membership when the context in which they find themselves is defined along group-based lines" (Haslam, 2001, p. 34). An example of this conflict in the journalistic field is the projected demise of the newspaper at the hands of online news (Coronel, 2004; Wasserman, 2006).

SIT posits that individuals strive to maintain positive social identity and when it becomes no longer satisfactory they either leave the existing group or make their group "more positively distinct" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 16), compared with out-groups by changing their attitudes. SIT has been used in understanding consumer behavior (Kleine, Kleine, & Brunswick, 2009), hiring decisions (Goldberg, 2003), and responses to advertising (Sierra, Hyman, & Torres, 2009). It has also been criticized, however. Some pointed out its insufficient conceptualization of what constitutes a group and how one group differs from another (Bornewasser & Bober, 1987; Brown, 2000). Still, SIT remains a popular framework in explaining relationships between groups and how these interact with individual attitudes. It is useful, therefore, in understanding differences between journalists from different media.

The Effects of Medium

SIT provides a framework for three related concepts in organizational communication literature that further explain how journalists, who are exposed to the routines and outputs associated with their respective media, develop strong associations with the particular medium they work in. These concepts are: socialization, identification and intergroup bias (Brewer, 1979; Filak, 2004; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Russo, 1998).

When journalists join an organization, they go through the process of "socialization" by learning work practices to adapt to the new environment (Singer, 2004). Socialization has several stages: education and exposure to mass communication, initial communication with members of an organization, initial encounter with the group, and finally the stage of adjustment to the group's norms and values (Brewer, 1979). For new journalists, the process can range from informal talks with veteran reporters and editors, seeing correction marks in their copies, to formal editorial news conferences (Sigelman, 1973). The process of socialization is not only about being part of a group, but also developing specific ways of doing things (Singer, 2004). The newsroom culture is an example of a social process that

enculturates a journalist and makes him/her a member of a social group (Filak, 2004).

Through socialization, journalists proceed to identify themselves with their particular group, which can be defined by their medium. A study involving the editorial staff of a large metropolitan daily found that journalists had high levels of "identification" with their profession and their newspaper (Russo, 1998). This is consistent with previous studies that illustrated that identification can be beyond the organization as a whole and can be with smaller or bigger groups (Russo, 1998). However, this identification could also lead them to perceive members of other organizations as "out-group" members (Rockmann, Pratt, & Northcraft, 2007). This perception of out-group members born out of identification with a home organization is parallel with the concept of "in-group" bias. The goal is usually to preserve in-group solidarity and justify the exploitation of out-groups (Brewer, 1979). A group of scholars also wrote about a parallel concept: "intergroup bias." Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis (2002) defined intergroup bias as "the systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (the in-group) or its members more favorably than a non-membership group (the out-group) or its members" (p. 576). Intergroup bias provides members with self-esteem (Hewstone et al., 2002), consistent with the assumptions of SIT. Filak (2004) applied the concept of intergroup bias to explain the tension between newspaper and television journalists in a converged newsroom: journalists rated their own medium and their own careers more favorably than those of the out-group. Cassidy (2007b) also found that online journalists rated their own medium more favorably than did print journalists. In describing traditional news organizations' reactive tendency toward technological developments, Boczkowski (2005) argued there is also a tendency for traditional news organizations to protect the newspaper medium when confronted with change.

Medium-Based Loyalty

In a pre-Internet study of student journalists in a converged newsroom, Hammond and colleagues (2000) found what they called as "medium-based jealousies" (p. 21). Newspaper and broadcast journalists traded accusations of hoarding stories from each other (Hammond, et al., 2000). This is likely a product of "identification with a particular medium" (Singer, 2004, p. 840), itself a product of years of socialization that usually begins in school. This organizational identification based on medium is expressed through a form of organizational commitment (Russo, 1998). Singer (2004) argued that "medium-driven variations in professional practice—notably issues related to newsroom structures and storytelling norms—may well

separate newspapers, television, and online products and producers for the foreseeable future" (p. 851).

The current study relies upon this form of medium-based commitment in explaining the differences between print and online journalists. For consistency, I shall call this concept, by tweaking Hammond and colleague's (2000) medium-based jealousies, as "medium-based loyalty" among journalists. Simply put, medium-based loyalty refers to a journalist's favorable attitude toward his or her own medium of dissemination, shaped by the process of socialization that integrates identification with the medium into one's social identity as a journalist, at the expense of other mediums of dissemination perceived as mediums for out-groups.

Barbalet (1996) described loyalty as "the emotion of confidence in organization" (p. 80), that also involves cooperation. This cooperation is possibly born out of a member's identification of his or her "own interest with that of a group" (Bloch, 1934, p. 36). Thus, a member sees his or her purpose aligned with that of the reference group (Bloch, 1934). This leads someone loyal to be devoted to the workings of the group. James (2001) argued that loyalty is a rational choice. It "requires a minimum level of thought and reasoning, a minimum level of cognitive development" (p. 236). These definitions of loyalty make it an integral manifestation of social identities.

Loyalty has two dimensions: attitudinal and behavioral (Iwasaki & Havitz, 1998). For instance, Keller (2007) defined loyalty as "the attitude and associated pattern of conduct that is constituted by an individual's taking something's side" (p. 21). These two dimensions inform each other, as attitudes supposedly influence behavior. An attitude is considered stable when it leads to behavioral consistency (Pritchard, Howard, & Havitz, 1992). A manifestation of loyalty is the preference for stability and "resistance to change" (James, 2001, p. 236). In fact, Iwasaki and Havitz (1998) considered resistance to change as "the most important antecedent of loyalty" (p. 269). It is within this context that I argue the concept of medium-based loyalty among journalists as a possible bump on the road to converged newsrooms.

If there is one thing that efforts at full convergence in countries such as the Philippines can learn from newsrooms in other countries that have fully converged, it is the fact that changes in newsrooms always lead to tensions because of, among other factors, resistance to change (Argyris, 1974; Edge, 2011; Gade, 2004). From a technological point of view, convergence is understood as bringing together different platforms or mediums—print, telecommunications and the Internet—to provide information (Killebrew, 2003). But aside from altering business models, convergence

is also changing media routines, especially for journalists who are used to traditional journalism (Singer, 2011). Thus, convergence should not only be about merging media technologies and routines, but "foremost, it is about attitude and the willingness to cooperate" (Verweij, 2009, p. 84).

If journalists are indeed loyal to their medium, especially in the Philippines where the industry is still marked by a schism between traditional and new news media, then this resistance to change should manifest itself when print journalists are confronted with the debate about the future of the newspaper medium. They will be more optimistic about the future of their own medium and their assessment of the online medium predicted to replace it will be less favorable. Hence, the following hypotheses and research question:

Hypothesis 1:   Print reporters will be more optimistic about the future of the newspaper than will online reporters.

Hypothesis 2:   Print reporters will display a less favorable attitude toward online news than will online reporters.

Research Question 1:   What other factors affect these attitudes?

Synthesis

Social identity theory predicts that members of a group, seeking to maintain self-esteem through differentiation, will view their in-group more favorably than out-groups. If journalists identify with groups based on their respective mediums, then print and online journalists should display different attitudes toward the future of the newspaper and toward the new online news medium. These differences are manifestations of a medium-based loyalty. An integral component of medium-based loyalty is resistance to change. In the context of this study, change is understood as the road to media convergence that threatens the future of the traditional newspaper.

Method

This study tests the concept of medium-based loyalty in a survey of print and online journalists in the Philippines, a country known for a free press very much patterned after the US system. Though newspaper and television companies have put up their own news websites in the Philippines, there remains a clear distinction between newspaper and website reporters. In one newspaper, for instance, newspaper reporters are encouraged to submit breaking news stories to the website, but this remains noninstitutional and the print reporters still identify themselves with their newspaper-based employer. The news website, just like any other news website in the country,

is a separate company and employs its own set of online reporters. Thus, unlike many newsrooms in the US, those in the Philippines are still in the process of fully converging their newsrooms.

Sampling

Copyeditors, photojournalists, and broadcast journalists were excluded from the survey. Though broadcast news organizations have put up news websites, broadcast journalists were not included for comparison because their routine differs greatly from print and online reporters. While print and online reporters are assigned in beats and work alone, sending their outputs through emails, TV reporters work with a crew, usually have general assignments, and do most of their editing in their respective offices.

No agency or group maintains a list of all journalists in the Philippines (Chua & Datinguinoo, 1998; Maslog, 2007; Tandoc & Skoric, 2010). To go around this constraint, the study used a multistage cluster sampling by dividing newspaper reporters into beat clusters or geographic areas or agency clusters where they gather their stories. Three police beats (the Quezon City and Eastern police districts and the Philippine National Police headquarters in Camp Crame), one political beat (House of Representatives), the judiciary beat (Supreme Court and Court of Appeals) and two agency cluster beats (each composed of several, usually unrelated government agencies) were included in the sample. The newspaper reporters in each of these clusters were all asked to participate in the survey. The researcher worked with senior journalism students of the University of the Philippines (UP) to administer the survey in the first quarter of 2010. Ninety questionnaires were completed.

For website reporters, a much smaller population, the researcher compiled the email addresses of all the website-only reporters from five of the top and most active news websites in the Philippines. Three were operated by newspaper companies (Philippine Daily Inquirer, Philippine Star and Sunstar) while two were operated by the two biggest television networks (ABS-CBN and GMA). This process yielded 30 possible respondents who were all sent an email invitation to participate in the survey in the second quarter of 2010. They were sent the link to the online survey days later and were reminded through email the following week. This process received 22 responses, but two were discarded due to incomplete responses. Thus, there were 90 responses from newspaper reporters and 20 from website reporters. An *a priori* G-*Power* analysis conducted before data-gathering showed that the study needed at least 102 participants to achieve enough power (.80) to detect moderate-effect sizes in a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). This was achieved with the study's final sample of 110 journalists.

Questionnaire

The variables in the survey were culled from initial informal interviews with a group of political newspaper reporters assigned at the country's House of Representatives. The patterns that emerged in the informal interviews were later used in formulating questions that were eventually used as indicators to form composite scores of attitudes. This resulted in a three-page questionnaire composed of three main parts: asking for demographics, measuring Internet usage and determining attitudes toward the future of the newspaper and online news. The questionnaire was pretested to ten newspaper reporters. This resulted in a few minor revisions.

Variables

The medium to which a journalist belonged served as the independent variable. I also analyzed age, level of self-perceived Internet proficiency and level of Internet use as covariates. Level of Internet use was measured by eight questions that asked respondents to rate, using a 5-point response scale, how often they used the Internet to send email, chat, use social networking sites, maintain their own blog, read local news, read international news, share pictures and watch videos (α=.80). Level of Internet proficiency was the only item rated on a 4-point scale.

The dependent variables are optimism about the future of newspapers and attitude toward online news (see Table 1). The first was measured using six questions each answered using a 5-point Likert scale (Cronbach's α=.72). One of the questions was removed because of a weak fit: agreement that readership of newspapers is declining. The second dependent variable was measured the same way, using eight questions (Cronbach's α=.70). These reliability values are acceptable especially in pilot studies (Field, 2009) such as this current project.

Table 1. Measuring optimism about the newspaper's future and attitude toward online news

Future of the Newspaper (α=.72)	Newspapers are important. Newspapers can be replaced by other media. People will still read newspapers. Newspapers will stay. Newspapers will disappear. (reversed)
Attitude toward Online News (α=.70)	Alerts reporters about possible stories Brings news to more people Takes away reading habit (reversed) Supports newspapers Sloppy writing (reversed) Allows reporters to verify facts

Note: [a]The respondents were asked in the survey to rate their agreement in a 5-point Likert scale to each of the statements about newspapers and online news.

Respondents

The sample for this study was composed of 90 print and 20 online journalists. Of the total sample, 53.7% are males and 40.4% are between 20 and 29 years old. The average age is 33.26 years (SD=9.0) and the average number of years of being a journalist is 10.04 years (SD=7.8). Majority of the respondents were single (55.8%), with a college degree (72.7%), and were earning between P10,001 and P20,000 ($222 and $444) per month (52.4%) when the survey was done. Some 30% of the respondents covered the police beat while 21.8% were assigned to political beats. Some 17% covered national government agencies while 10% covered the judiciary beat.

Results

The reporters in this study generally have an optimistic attitude toward the future of newspapers, with the average score being 4.09 in a scale that rates 5 as strong agreement (SD= 0.58). They also have a favorable attitude toward online news, with the average score being 3.84 (SD=0.54). But print journalists are more likely than online journalists to: be older, have been a journalist for a longer period of time, perceive themselves to be less proficient in using the Internet, and be lighter users of the Internet (see Table 2).

Table 2. Differences between newspaper and website reporters

	Newspaper Journalists		Online Journalists	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	34.25	9.19	29.10	6.97
Number of Years as a Reporter	10.7	8.06	7.2	5.87
Level of Internet Proficiency[b]	2.97	.80	3.10	.64
Level of Internet Use[c]	3.71	.69	4.08	.50
Future of Newspapers[c]	4.15	.06	3.80	.13
Online News Attitude[c]	3.76	.05	4.08	.10

Notes : [b] Used a scale of 1-4, four being the highest
[c] Used a scale of 1-5, five being the highest.

Hypothesis 1 argued, however, that consistent with the concept of medium-based loyalty, print journalists will be more optimistic about the future of their own medium than will online journalists. Hypothesis 2 also argued that print journalists will also rate online news less favorably than will online journalists. Both hypotheses are supported. The MANCOVA, covarying for age, Internet proficiency and Internet use, with medium as fixed factor, yielded significant F values for both optimism about the future of newspapers ($F(1,99)=5.361$, $\alpha<.05$) and attitude toward online news ($F(1,99)=7.267$, $\alpha<.01$). Newspaper reporters ($M = 4.15$, $SD = .06$) were more optimistic about the future of the newspaper than website reporters ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .13$). Newspaper reporters ($M = 3.76$, $SD = .05$) also looked at online news less favorably than did their online counterparts ($M = 4.08$, $SD = .10$). See Tables 2 and 3.

Table 3. MANCOVA results

	Future of Newspapers	Online News Attitude
	F	F
Medium	5.361[d]	7.267[e]
Age	.024	.003
Internet Use	.423	9.644**
Internet Proficiency	.788	1.700

Notes: [d] p<.05
              [e] p<.01

Research Question 1 asked about other factors that influence these attitudes. The results showed that neither age nor self-rated Internet proficiency influenced optimism about the future of the newspaper or attitude toward online news. The level of Internet use also did not influence optimism about the future of the newspaper. However, it positively predicted attitude toward online news [$F(1,99)= 9.644$, $p< .01$]. Thus, journalists who used the Internet more frequently tended to look at online news more favorably than those who used the Internet less often.

Supplemental Analysis

That age is not linked to any differences in attitude, despite the pronounced age differences between online and newspaper reporters, is intriguing. A correlation analysis, however, reveals that age is negatively and mildly correlated with attitude toward online news ($r=-.193$, $p<.05$); and positively and moderately correlated with level of Internet use ($r=.375$, $p<.01$). It is likely that there is some mediation going on, from age through level of Internet use to attitudes toward the future of newspapers and online news.

I used *bootstrapping* analysis to test this, using an SPSS macro developed by Preacher and Hayes (2008) to test mediation.

Simulation research argued that bootstrapping is among the most powerful methods to detect mediation (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Unlike other tests, bootstrapping does not assume normal distribution (Golec de Zavala & Van Bergh, 2007; Tang & Wu, 2010). Bootstrapping also creates a large sample from the original data (1,000 for this study) through a sampling with replacement strategy. It constructs a confidence interval (95% in this study) around the indirect effect from the distribution that it creates (Dubreuil, Laughrea, Morin, Courcy, & Loiselle, 2009). To establish an indirect effect, the interval must not contain a zero value (Dubreuil et al., 2009).

The supplemental analysis confirmed a mediation effect but only for attitude toward online news. Though the direct effect of age on attitude toward online news is not significant, a mediation model that looks at the total effect through Internet use is actually significant, *β = -.0133, p<.001*. Furthermore, the 95% confidence interval for the effect size of the indirect path through Internet use was -.0209 to -.0053 and did not include zero, indicating it was a significant mediator. The model explains 17% of the variance in online news attitude (*F=11.0767, p<.001*). Thus, the effect of age on attitude toward online news is mediated by the level of Internet use. See Figure 1 for the mediation model.

Figure 1. Mediation model explaining online news attitude
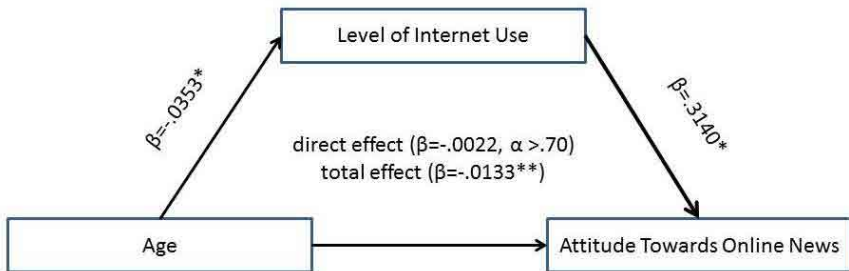
Note.   This shows the mediation model from age to attitude toward online news through Internet use. Values are coefficients. * <.001; ** <.05.

Discussion

The findings point to several differences between newspaper reporters and website reporters. Newspaper reporters are likely to be older not only in age, but also in the number of years in the profession. This could mean that news websites have been attracting fresh graduates more than

newspapers, or that news websites, being relatively new in the field, have been more aggressive in hiring new reporters who are therefore younger. This could also show that traditional journalists, who have stayed with their traditional medium for a long time, have not been crossing over to the more recent news media. Print journalists in this study were also lighter users of the Internet and rated themselves less proficient with the Internet than did online journalists—possible factors why the crossover to online news has not accelerated. But differences between journalists go beyond mere demographics (Cassidy, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Filak, 2004; Johnstone et al., 1976; Weaver et al., 2007; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986, 1996).

This study sought to test the concept of medium-based loyalty as explicated from previous literature to the ongoing discourse about media convergence and the projected displacement of the newspaper. The findings point to another manifestation of medium-based loyalty: print and online journalists perceive the future of the newspaper differently. Newspaper reporters were more optimistic about the future of their own medium. Though they also have a positive attitude toward online news—and despite the widespread belief that the days of the traditional newspaper are numbered as number of readers continues to dwindle (Coronel, 2004, Wasserman, 2006)—print journalists still cling to their own medium. Online journalists, on the other hand, rated online news more favorably than did print journalists. Though journalists get socialized into the practice of journalism, it is apparent that within the profession are several sub-groups. A sub-group could be based on medium, as what earlier studies found (Filak, 2004, Hammond et al., 2000). This is also consistent with medium as one of the uncovered dimensions of the concept of a "journalist."

The results are also consistent with the assumptions of the social identity theory. The optimism that print journalists have toward the future of the newspaper is a possible manifestation of resistance to change. Confronted with the tensions of convergence, print journalists cling to their group, also believing that it is superior to the new group challenging it, an instance of differentiation that leads to in-group bias. Thus, they rated online news less favorably than did online reporters. For print reporters, the medium they have gotten used to is part of their social identity. This could explain the resistance traditional journalists have toward converged newsrooms. Their medium-based loyalty is part of their aim at stability, of maintaining self-esteem by being protective of their in-group against the context of change. The findings therefore support the application of the SIT framework in understanding differences in attitudes among journalists from different mediums.

The results also have practical implications. While print journalists had lower scores than online journalists on Internet proficiency and use, their scores remained high. It seems that newspaper reporters will not have a difficult time adjusting to new working requirements and tools if they need to work in a converged newsroom that will require them to break news stories and produce multimedia content. It appears that they have been using the new technology, anyway. How will this account then for both the uncovered and predicted resistance among traditional journalists to the shift to converged newsrooms? The concept of medium-based loyalty is a plausible explanation. The socialization of journalists leads to an organizational identification that, so far, has been closely tied to a particular medium. The socialization process can be broken down into observance and assimilation of routines, beliefs and habits associated with a particular news medium (Brewer, 1979, Sigelman, 1973, Singer, 2004). Thus, a shift into a converged platform should require a new process of socialization, a form of identification that cannot be automatically expected from traditional journalists. Older journalists should be introduced and exposed to online activities and tools prior to converging newsrooms. Their projections about the old and new platforms should also be examined, consistent with Born's (2003) conclusions that these projections help account for the actions that journalists make.

An important finding of this study is how Internet use mediates the relationship between age and attitude toward online news. Age does not negatively predict attitude toward online news directly. Older journalists who use the Internet often can actually perceive online news favorably. This opens up the simple question of access, especially in the Philippines where Internet penetration is still low. Frequent Internet use may influence the attitude of old, traditional journalists and help them make a favorable stance toward Internet as a news platform, as what the findings showed. However, since the mediation effect of Internet use is only apparent in predicting attitude toward online news and not toward the future of the newspaper, it is also argued that the two attitudes are not exactly opposites. Traditional journalists may be protective of the medium they have gotten accustomed to, but they can also be open to a new news medium.

Therefore, the concept of medium-based loyalty allows us to understand what makes traditional journalists cling to their old news medium. This understanding of how medium-based loyalty is born out of an intricate socialization process should then demonstrate that a way to remove it as a roadblock to media convergence is to redo the process of socialization into a new medium by providing traditional journalists in transition more exposure to and adequate training to on the new media technologies.

Limitations and Conclusion

It is possible, however, that other processes could be at work with journalists closely tied to other platforms or serving different functions, like editors and photojournalists. Broadcast journalists, who work with different routines, might also embrace different attitudes. Though the study used cluster sampling for newspaper reporters and attempted a census of website reporters, the findings cannot be applied to the entire population of print and online journalists in the Philippines, considering that only reporters based in the political and financial center, Metro Manila, and from national news organizations were included. Still, the results confirm those of previous studies, move forward the understanding of medium-based loyalty and provide insights to inform not only practice but also future studies.

In providing a way to understand the process behind attitudes of journalists, the concept of medium-based loyalty can help in offering ways to address the consequences of these attitudes. For instance, journalism training even at the high school and college levels can include exposure to different media, considering that education is the beginning of socialization. But in as much as medium-based loyalty has significant effects on media convergence, the shift to converged newsrooms is also likely to affect the conceptualization of medium-based loyalty, an interesting phenomenon to observe and measure in future studies.

Is it really possible to attain full convergence? Or are merged newsrooms just a phase? If convergence is a response to eyeballs shifting to the Internet, with which medium would online news converge if traditional media do not survive? And if indeed converged newsrooms succeed in creating multimedia journalists, what happens with medium-based loyalty? For a journalist trained to produce and disseminate content in various platforms and formats, where will loyalty lie?

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